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HENRY HUDSON

IN

HOLLAND.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN AND OBJECTS
OF THE VOYAGE WHICH LED

TO THE

DISCOVERY

OF THE

HUDSON RIVER.

Arb. M. J. J. J.

WITH

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

THE HAGUE,

THE BROTHERS GIUNTA D'ALBANI.

1859.



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The following memoir is the result of an investigation made here for the purpose of ascertaining, more precisely than has hitherto been explained, the circumstances which originated the voyage made on behalf of the Dutch East India Company by HENRY HUDSON, the motives, purposes and character of its projectors, and the designs of the navigator himself at the time he sailed upon that expedition. The inquiry has elicited some new and curious information, which it is hoped will prove interesting to those who love to study the proximate causes which led to the actual settlement of our continent by civilized man. The record of events which was fortunately made for us by the French ambassador then at the Hague is now fully identified and corroborated; the enterprizing spirits of Holland to whose energy we are indebted for the voyage are recognized, at least partially; and found to have been also the authors of the famous expeditions to the Arctic seas of WILLIAM BARENDSZOON; and HUDSON himself is seen to have contemplated and prepared himself in this voyage for the very exploration which he made of

the greater part of the Atlantic coast of the United States and which resulted in the discovery of the bay of New York and its noble tributary.

Other points of interest connected with the sending out of this expedition will attract especial attention. The most important of them is the explicit statement of HUDSON in regard to the amelioration of the climate at the extreme Northern latitude attained by him in his previous explorations, and its remarkable concomitant, an open navigation towards the pole. It was this relation which satisfied the minds of the directors of the Company as to the expediency of making a new search for a passage to China in those comparatively mild and possibly habitable regions. We know how often this observation of HUDSON has since been confirmed by later voyagers at different points of the arctic circle and yet our knowledge, after the lapse of two hundred and fifty years, in regard to this strange phenomenon has hardly advanced one step and we are in the same state both of doubt and hopeful effort on the subject, as the merchants of Amsterdam were on the occasion of the narration of our navigator. Science too then as now stepped in to substantiate the fact when otherwise it would have been incredible, and to encourage the undertaking.

In prosecuting this task we have sought the most authentic sources of information; and with that view

have examined the records of the East India Company, comprising the registers or books of resolutions of the general council of the Company, styled the Council of Seventeen, and of the chambers of Amsterdam and Zeeland respectively, with some other documents of a miscellaneous character, among the Archives of the Kingdom at the Hague; where all the books and papers of the Company, which were until lately dispersed among the different cities where the operations of the different chambers were conducted, have been brought together and arranged. A copy of the contract between HUDSON and the Chamber of Amsterdam was found appended to a history of the Company, never published, but prepared at its request by Mr. P. VAN DAM who held the position of Counsel of the Company for the extraordinary period of fifty four years, that is, from 1652 until his death in 1706. The original instrument is not to be found. That would have been a precious relic to see, but for all the purposes of history the copy thus accidentally preserved will answer its place.

We have also sought for such contemporaneous printed accounts as appeared in Holland in regard to the voyage. Of these there were, however, only two; the HUDSON tract of 1612—13, and the history of VAN METEREN, both of which have been known to our writers, but their peculiar claims to authenticity on the subject of HUDSON's voyage have never been explained. The former, indeed, has altogether escaped

notice in this connection. They appeared shortly after the voyage was made and when it was yet hoped that HUDSON was still alive, if, indeed he were not so, in fact. One was written in the Latin tongue and the other in Dutch: the former has never appeared in English, and the latter only through the medium of a French translation. It seemed proper, therefore, that we should not only give these accounts in English, in full, but also the grounds upon which we claimed their authenticity. To the bibliographer this last part of our labor will prove perhaps of some additional interest, as he will there see, if we mistake not, how his science serves the purposes of historical investigation. The intelligent reader need not be referred to the later publications, the journal of the traitor Juet in Purchas, and the accounts of DE LAET, which have been carefully translated and accompanied by suitable notes by HON. GEORGE FOLSOM, in the first volume of the second series of the Collections of the New York Historical Society. These authorities are well known and must ever remain the chief sources of our knowledge as to the incidents of the voyage. They fail us however, in regard to the points which we have sought to explain. The later publications of VANDERDONCK and others are worse than useless for our purpose, as they are not only copyists of the facts of this early period but the writer just named is grossly inaccurate in the little which he has mentioned on the subject.

It remains for us to express our infinite obligations to the learned Archivist of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Dr. R. C. BAKHUIZEN VAN DER BRINK, and to M. F. A. G. CAMPBELL Esq. the accomplished Assistant Librarian of the Royal Library at the Hague, for valuable aid in the course of our researches. We are also indebted to the kindness of Mr. FREDERICK MULLER of Amsterdam for the opportunity of collating the different editions of the very rare tract, first published in 1612, and thereby of establishing an important piece of evidence in the investigation; and of Mr. J. SCHUITMAKER of Purmerende for the portrait of DIRK VAN OS which embellishes our pages. Our friend J. T. BODEL NIJENHUIS Esq. of Leyden has also laid us under renewed obligations.

HEN. C. MURPHY.

THE HAGUE,
April 15. 1859.

HENRY HUDSON IN HOLLAND.

In having his name given to portions of the New World, in a manner which is certain to transmit through all time his right to be considered their first Européan discoverer, Hudson has been more fortunate than any other navigator except Vespuccius, who has the exclusive honor of having the name of a continent identified with his own, and yet more fortunate even than he, in regard that his claim to the discovery is not a subject of dispute. Hudson's bay and Hudson river two points of great geographical interest attest his intrepidity as an explorer, and indicate precisely the regions, which he first fully made known to the civilized world; while there is neither gulf nor stream, island nor mainland to carry down to posterity, the name of its discoverer for Columbus or Cabot or Verrazzano or Gomez or Cartier; and a single spot suffices to perpetuate their names for Davis, Magellan, Champlain, and others who have made discoveries along the American continent. But although the skill and daring of Hudson have been thus perpetuated beyond the lot of his fellows, in monuments more lasting than men could otherwise devise, his antecedents and personal history, are, on the other hand, less known, than those of most of the other navigators just named. For the

brief period of five years only he appears upon the stage of action, and then perishes amid the scenes of his triumphs and at a moment when he and the world believed that he had accomplished the darling object of his ambition and of the hopes of Northern Europe — a Northerly passage to the East Indies. The history of his short career, sudden in its commencement, bright in its course, and startling and dramatic in its close, is derived from the journals of his voyages kept by himself and others and published by Purchas. These furnish all that is known of him, except some few additional facts, which we have now collected from other sources. We know that he was an Englishman, but what city gave him birth or what was his lineage are matters entirely unknown. We now learn, indeed, for the first time, that he had several children, besides the son who shared his miserable fate; and possibly, therefore, what has become of his descendants may still be wrought out, and with it something of his family history. There is no portrait of him, not even a contemporaneous print of doubtful authenticity, a fact the more remarkable from the circumstance that he lived and acquired a celebrity in an age, when it was quite the fashion to present to the public pictures of those who merited attention. We are equally at a loss to know what circumstances led him into the path of maritime discovery, or for whom it was that he made his first two voyages. It only distinctly appears that they were made on account of an English Company, which was not the association of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges and others, as has sometimes been alleged.¹ In the absence

¹ Mr. Moulton (I. 197), in attempting to correct the statement of Förster, that the names of the persons who employed Hudson have not been handed down to us, says, that they are mentioned by Purchas. This is a mistake, as in the place cited Purchas merely gives the names of Sir Thomas Smith and others as the promoters of the voyage of 1610. Indeed we learn from Purchas, on the contrary, that these individuals were not the persons who employed

of positive statements on the subject we are therefore left to conjecture. We do indeed find that a license was on the 9th of January 1607 granted to Richard Penkevel and others authorizing them to seek China, Cathay, the Moluccas and other places in the East by the way of the North, Northwest and Northeast, under the title of "the Collegues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North passage", and the time of the formation of this company and its object agree with the period and design of these two voyages.¹ No other association of which we have any knowledge existed in England at that time for such purposes, and it may well be that it was in their service Hudson was engaged.

§ I.

THE INVITATION TO HUDSON AND THE DUTCH MERCHANTS.

During the short period to which our knowledge of Hudson is confined he visited Holland and sojourned there several months. He left London upon the invitation of the Directors of the Dutch East India Company of the Chamber of Amsterdam, to confer with them in regard to another voyage to the North on their account. This was during the winter of

Hudson in 1607 and 1608; for in his account of the fourth voyage for Sir Thomas Smith's Company, it is stated that Robert Bileth was engaged in *their first three* voyages. Now the first time that Bileth sailed with Hudson was in 1610, as may be seen by comparing the lists in Purchas of Hudson's crews on his first two voyages above mentioned. So that Hudson's fourth and last voyage was the first one made for that company. In fact the four voyages made for Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges and their associates, were made in the following order: the first one by Hudson in 1610, and the others consecutively by Button, Gibbons and Baffin, and it is in the account which Purchas gives of the last of these, that, as we have said, the remark in regard to Bileth occurs, to which we have just referred. *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, III. 836.

¹ Rymer's *Foedera*, VII. 115 (2d Ed.).

1608—9, after he had returned from his second voyage. His skill, resolution and success had then become known in Holland; we say success, because he had reached, as was supposed that tempting region of Arctic exploration, the open Polar sea, the anomaly of the North. There were learned men and astute merchants in those days in the City of Amsterdam, as we will see, who reasoned out the Northeast passage in that direction, in consequence of this apparently iceless condition of the polar waters, with entire confidence in its speedy and successful accomplishment. Hudson was no sooner out of employment, therefore, than his presence at Amsterdam was requested by the Chamber of the East India Company, there established, which comprised among its members many enterprising merchants. They had however a particular motive in seeking to secure his services. They wished to forestal others, and especially their own countrymen in the discovery, and thus prevent any interference with their chartered monopoly of the East India trade. The evidence of this policy distinctly appears in the resolutions and proceedings of the general council of all the Chambers of the Company, called the Council of Seventeen, and carries us back a few years earlier than the time of Hudson's visit, in the history of the country, while it brings to our view some of the more prominent individuals connected with the great commercial movement which then agitated the nation.

Previous to the revolution, when the United Provinces asserted their independence, the Dutch had not extended their commercial operations beyond the Mediterranean and the Baltic; but no sooner had they fairly embarked in that contest and assumed a national character for themselves, than they entered upon the great field of foreign enterprise and distant navigation with an ardor which soon brought them up to the first rank of daring and

successful explorers. A large portion of this new impulse was due to that element of the population which had emigrated from Antwerp and other commercial and trading cities of the Spanish Netherlands, refugees for conscience sake; to whom, indeed, much more of the maritime greatness and prosperity of the United Provinces are to be attributed than has been generally conceded. The commercial history, however, of Holland and her sister provinces remains to be written. It is for us to mention those persons only who are connected with our purpose with such few facts in relation to them as we have been enabled to pick up from scattered quarters.

Foremost, if not first, among these was Balthazar de Moucheron of Zeeland, who had established himself as a merchant at Veere, near Middelburg, in that province. His father, a person of noble descent, emigrated from Normandy to Antwerp. Balthazar was born in the latter place but fled from thence on account of religious persecution to Zeeland. He there embarked in the Muscovy trade, and one of his vessels having proceeded as far as Archangel in the year 1584, the branch of the Dwina upon which that city is situated was from that circumstance afterwards known among the Dutch as Moucheron's river. Having received favorable reports from his factors in that region relative to a passage to the Indies by the sea of Tartary, he memorialized the States of Holland and Zeeland to send out an expedition for the purpose of exploring that route, offering on his own part to join in the expense upon condition of being permitted to participate proportionably in the future profits. The result will be referred to presently. De Moucheron subsequently engaged in the trade to the East Indies by the way of the Cape of Good Hope; but was compelled to relinquish it on his private account, by the incorporation of the East India Company to which the exclusive privilege of that trade by the then known routes was granted. He was however, named

by the charter, a director of the Company for the Chamber of Zeeland, but it was without his consent, and he never acted in that capacity. Mr. Lambrechtsen's conjecture that the Zeeland directors were deterred from aiding the expedition sent out under Hudson "by reason of information received from their colleague Balthazar Moucheron, of the unfortunate result of the former voyages", is therefore not well founded. Had De Moucheron been a director his course would probably have been quite different, as any hostility on his part would have been foreign to his enterprising character. The last trace which we find of him is in the latter part of the year 1609, at Paris, where he had gone for the purpose of establishing a trade to the Cape of Good Hope under the sanction of the King of France, at the same time that Le Maire, Spilbergen and others were assembled there for the purpose of furthering the wishes of Henry in relation to the organization of a French East India Company.¹

There was another eminent merchant in the Netherlands, a Walloon by birth, who was also actively engaged at this time, in nautical affairs. This was Isaac Le Maire of Amsterdam, a native of Tournay in Hainault, who had by means of his brothers, established commercial connections with

¹ Letters of T. van Aerssen, agent of the States General in France, dated at Paris the 16th and 25th December 1609, in the archives at the Hague. De Moucheron has been curiously enough mixed up with the voyage of Hudson, as may be seen by consulting our leading histories, probably from the statement of Mr. Lambrechtsen above referred to (*Nieuw Nederland*, p. 9.); though that remark as we have observed is a mere surmise. We have therefore carefully examined the Books of Resolutions of the Chamber of Zeeland, which give the names of all the Directors attending each meeting of the Chamber, from the organization of the East India Company until long after the time in question, in order to ascertain the truth on the subject. The result of the investigation was very unexpectedly the revelation of the fact as above stated of his not having accepted the post of Director, as it appears he never attended a single meeting of the Chamber. Those who wish to refer to the authorities for the few incidents which we have been enabled to collect in regard to him from printed sources may consult *La Grande Chronique Ancienne et Moderne de Hollande, Zelande etc.*, par Jean Francois Le Petit, II. p. 651; and *De Navorscher*, VI. p. 344.

Spain, Italy and Portugal, one of them residing in each of those countries. He also entered into the East India trade at its outset, before the incorporation of the General Company, and was consequently by the charter of that Company, according to the plan upon which it was formed of uniting all existing interests, constituted a director for the Chamber of Amsterdam, but apparently, as in the case of De Moucheron, against his will. He appears, however, to have acted as such for a year or two; but in 1604, he ceased to do so and began on the contrary to set on foot various enterprises, having for their object the discovery of new routes to the East Indies, in opposition to the monopoly of the Company. One of the expeditions which he equipped at the expense of the King of France was designed to attempt the Northeast passage, and, about a month after Hudson had left Holland, actually sailed in his wake. After the return of this vessel he repaired to Paris where as we have already said he had gone to pursue his negotiations with King Henry in relation to forming a French East India Company. Delayed first by the opposition of Sully in this project, he was compelled entirely to abandon it by the assassination of the King in the following year. He was more successful in accomplishing his immediate purpose in the expedition of which he was half-owner, fitted out in the year 1616 under Schouten and Jacob Le Maire, his son, who discovered the straits of Le Maire and Cape Horn, thus in fact opening to private enterprise two new routes to the East Indies not mentioned and therefore not prohibited to others by the terms of the East India Company's Charter. Few men in any age have shown such an energetic spirit in the advancement of maritime discovery as Le Maire. He became well acquainted with Hudson during the stay of the latter in Holland, and readily adopted his views in regard to the Northern passage. He was only prevented by

accident from securing to himself the services of that navigator for his own expedition to the North.

Distinguished in another and not less important branch of Dutch navigation, that of collecting the necessary nautical information and directing attention to the importance of the work, was a third individual, also from the Flemish provinces, who may be styled as regards his qualifications and his labors in the paths just indicated, the Hakluyt of the Netherlands. Like his great English prototype, Peter Plancius was also a minister of the Church. He was born in Flanders, but was compelled in the latter part of the sixteenth century, during the height of the troubles there, to leave his native country and seek an asylum in the North, whither he fled and became minister of the Reformed Church at Amsterdam. He was equally renowned in his day for his geographical knowledge and for his theological zeal in opposition to the religious tenets of Arminius and the Remonstrants. We find him interesting himself in the schemes of William Usselinx for the establishment of a West India Company as early as the year 1600.¹ He was zealous in collecting information from seafaring men and other practical sources, and diligent in promoting by his advice and knowledge all enterprises of discovery. His reasoning in support of Hudson's views on the subject of an open northern sea was curious and will be adverted to in its proper place.

There were three other persons, all probably of Batavian origin, well representing that ancient element of the population during this period of maritime activity in the United Provinces, who were all more or less connected with the particular voyage of Hudson. These were Dirck van Os, Pieter Dirkszoon Hasselaer and Jan Janszoon Carel de

¹ Van Meteren, Boek 27.

oude, or Senior. These individuals serve as a link to unite that voyage with the earlier ones sent out by the Dutch to the North, inasmuch as they were interested in the latter on their private account, and were also members of the East India Company of the Chamber of Amsterdam at the time of the engagement of Hudson. But Dirck van Os presents the particular claim upon our attention of being the only one of them who is found in treaty with the navigator; thus leading us to the conviction that he was probably one of the leading spirits of the enterprise, as he was of the negotiation on the part of the Company. He was a man of enlarged views and of a laborious disposition. He was the originator and head, until his death in 1615, of one of the first great undertakings to drain the extensive lakes of Holland and to convert them into arable land, that of the Beemster, a work with which another celebrated name, William Usselincx, is also associated.¹ Hasselaer who was from Haarlem and had distinguished himself among its defenders, during its memorable siege, was at the time of which we speak a member of the municipal council of the city of Amsterdam.² Of Carel we have been enabled to find nothing beyond his connection with the enterprises here mentioned.

¹ *Bedijking, Opkomst en Bloei van de Beemster.* Door I. Bouman. pp. 31 and 135.

² The character of Hasselaer may be judged of from an incident at the siege of Haarlem, at which he was an ensign bearer. When that city surrendered and the Spaniards basely put a large number of the citizens to death, contrary to the pledge which they had given them of life, they made search after Pieter Dirkszoon Hasselaer, but apprehended his brother in his stead by mistake. Peter then made himself known, saying. "If it is the standard bearer whom you want, let this person go, I am the man." The name of Hasselaer is famous in the annals of that siege, for it was Catharine van Hasselaer, a rich widow, who raised a regiment of three hundred of her own sex, who fought and worked as bravely and as assiduously as any of the male defenders of the city. There is a fine engraved portrait of Pieter Dirkszoon Hasselaer in *Wagenaar's History of Amsterdam*, where may also be found some particulars of his life.

Besides these persons there may have been others who were associated with the earliest voyages to the North and were also promoters of that of Hudson; but if there were any such, it is impossible now to designate them. The records of the time are very unsatisfactory and it is only here and there disconnectedly that one can find anything to throw light upon the subject. The inquirer has to grope his way through new and obscure passages and be content with a small recompense for his labor.

§ II.

THE FIRST EXPEDITIONS TO THE NORTH, THE ORIGIN OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND ITS POLICY IN REGARD TO THE NORTH PASSAGE.

The authorities agree in attributing to the efforts of Balthazar De Moucheron the first movement in the United Provinces which resulted in any actual attempt for the purposes of maritime discovery. This was the expedition of 1594, which was despatched by the Provinces of Holland and Zeeland to search for a passage to the Northeast. In that movement De Moucheron was more than seconded by other individuals, including the three persons last mentioned. To that expedition, Van Os, Hasselaer and Carel, in conjunction with Jacob Valcke, C. Roeltius and perhaps others,¹ added at their own expense a third vessel which was placed under the command of William Barendszoon, a native of the island of Terschelling, then a resident of Amsterdam, whose name and fate are to be forever identified with the history of Arctic discovery. On the failure of the first expedition, another was sent out the following year by the two provinces, without the cooperation of the merchants,

¹ The authorities on this point are collected in the *Geschiedenis der Stichting van de Vereenigde O. I. Compagnie etc.*, door I. A. Van der Chys. pp. 25—6, note, 2d Ed. Leyden, 1857.

but with no better success. The two provinces at length discouraged, gave up all further trials, but the States General offered a reward of ten thousand dollars to any private persons who might make the discovery. In the year 1596 the merchants just named made a third attempt alone, when the sufferings of the crew of one of the ships, who were compelled to winter in Nova Zembla, and the consequent death of Barentszoon, without obtaining any favorable results, seemed to preclude all further efforts in that direction. But a marked success had in the mean time, attended an enterprise of another association composed of Van Os, Hasselaer, Carel and others, in the opposite quarter, — a success which was eventually to shape the commercial character of the Netherlands and to lay the foundation of the prosperity which the country enjoys at the present day. It was indeed the beginning of that chain of circumstances which led to the discovery of the Hudson river, and more remotely to the settlement of our country by the Dutch.

In the same year with the sailing of the expedition of 1594, the three energetic men whom we have named, associated themselves with six others, namely, Hendrik Hudden, Reynier Pauw, Jan Poppen, Hendrik Buyk, Syvert Pieterszoon Sem, and Arend ten Grootenhuys, in a company called the "*Compagnie van Verre*", or *Company of Foreign Parts*, for the purpose of carrying on a trade to the East Indies, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, in defiance of the bull of the Pope and the power of the enemies of their country, the Spaniards and their conquered dependents, the Portuguese. The association caused four ships to be built for the purpose of this trade, whence the members were called sometimes the *Bewindhebbers* or *Managers of the new ships*, and despatched them on their voyage in 1595, under the command of Cornelis Houtman. The speculation was entirely successful and yielded remunerative profits to the owners of the vessels.

Every obstacle in the way of reaching the dazzling East seemed at once to have been overcome and the coveted wealth of the Indies to lie within the grasp of the adventurers. A sudden fury for entering into this commerce seized the entire maritime interest of the Republic. A sluice way was opened into which the whole commercial body rushed like a body of waters. Ships were fitted out from the different parts of Zeeland and North and South Holland, in great numbers. The French ambassador, De Buzanval, on the 27 August 1597, after the return of Houtman, wrote home from Holland; "all these countries, which are full of ships and sailors, are running there like fire." Of these different parties, some made short voyages and realized enormous profits; others enriched themselves by the capture of Spanish and Portuguese carracks, which they did not hesitate to attack, wherever they met them, without regard to disparity of force. It was right thus to cripple the enemy, and to transfer the scene of war which had been confined within the borders of the oppressed to the very seat of wealth of the proud oppressor. Every Dutch ship despatched to the Indies became a privateer, and every Spanish and Portuguese vessel which could be taken was a lawful prize. Some of the adventurers, less fortunate than the others in the length of their voyages or in obtaining full cargoes, in consequence of their arriving in the Indies after the market had been stripped by others of their countrymen who had been there before them, and equally unfortunate in taking booty, obtained inadequate returns. In order to prevent this inequality on the one hand, and to make the new element of power a more effective means of attack against the enemy on the other, the Republic determined to merge all the different interests into one by the incorporation of a General Company, making the several proprietors its managers. The project was opposed by many of them, but without effect; and finally in 1602,

the charter was passed, and the Dutch East India Company organized.

This charter modelled the company somewhat on the plan of the union of the provinces, with distinct assemblies and parts, dividing it into six branches, called Chambers, each of which was managed by its own Directors, in different portions of the country, one in Amsterdam comprising one half its capital; a second in Zeeland, with one fourth of the capital; two in South Holland, with one eighth of the capital subdivided between Delft and Rotterdam; and two also in North Holland, with the remaining eighth part of the capital, also subdivided between Hoorn and Enkhuizen. These Chambers, were called respectively the Chambers of Amsterdam, Zeeland, Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn and Enkhuizen. A general council of seventeen directors chosen by the respective chambers from among themselves, were by a majority of votes to determine all voyages; Amsterdam choosing eight, Zeeland four, and the other chambers one member each, and the seventeenth being chosen by lot by the Chambers of Zeeland, the Maas, and North Holland. This arrangement was a device to secure the rights of the smaller chambers against the power of that of Amsterdam. Each locality was secured in its proportion of the business of the Company, and each Chamber was to have the exclusive management of the ships sent out by it, and to be responsible for all the property coming into its possession. The Company was authorised to trade to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, the only routes then known, for the period of twenty one years. The charter contained a very singular clause, which we refer to now, because it will explain a phrase in the contract with Hudson; that is, it required an account to be kept of each ten years operations and permitted each stockholder at the end of any such term of ten years to withdraw his capital if he chose

so to do. The number of persons who were named Directors was at the outset twenty three for the Chamber of Amsterdam, including all the Members of the *Compagnie van Verre*, except Hendrik Hudden, who had died in the mean time; fourteen for Zeeland; eleven for Delft; nine for Rotterdam; four for Hoorn; and eleven for Enkhuizen. The charter was construed, if not by the Company, by others to limit its privileges to carrying on the India trade, by the two routes particularly mentioned, namely, by way of the Cape of Good Hope and by the Straits of Magellan, and to leave the power in the States to grant to others similar privileges by new routes which might thereafter be opened. Hence it was that Le Maire, after leaving the direction of the Company, organised, as we have said, expeditions for further exploration; and that other parties, entered at once into negotiations with the States for the purpose of prosecuting the particular navigation in the North, though without success. The Company itself shortly after its organization took into consideration the expediency of making an attempt to explore the Northern passage and of soliciting the necessary privileges from the government. It is quite apparent therefore that fears or hopes of the opening of that route still lurked in the minds of some of the Directors. The Council of Seventeen, determined finally that it was inexpedient to make the trial. This determination was, however, accompanied by a remarkable resolution which, while it most pointedly confirms the idea that expectations of the ultimate opening of the Northern passage existed in that body, also furnishes us with the key to the policy, which led the Company subsequently to send for Hudson, and to employ him on that very service. The final action of the Council of Seventeen on this subject took place on the 7th of August 1603, and is thus entered on the minutes: "It is likewise for deliberation and resolution, whether the voyage by the North shall also again be under-

taken and negotiations be had with the Noble Lords States in regard to terms and privileges for that purpose, *seeing that some private persons have already been in communication with said Lords*; the more so, as this matter was at the meeting of the Seventeen, on the 27th of February last past postponed, as appears by the seventeenth section of the proceedings of that meeting." In the margin is the following disposition of the subject: "*The contents hereof are rejected, as it is deemed not serviceable to the Company; and therefore, if this navigation should be undertaken by any private persons, it ought to be by all means prevented.*"¹ The Company, in pursuance of this resolution, accordingly, abandoned the idea of the Northern route and confined itself to the South. In this trade it realized immediately enormous profits, dividing among its stockholders, thirty seven per cent for its first two years operations and seventy - five per cent for the next two years. It had at the time of the visit of Hudson, grown already to be a mighty power, having forty large ships, besides other smaller vessels in its service, armed with six hundred pieces of cannon and manned by five thousand sailors. The government had also strengthened it by new enactments and those persons who disputed the construction, that the charter of the Company was exclusive, which, indeed, if it were true, was so only by implication and not by its terms, and who therefore engaged in the trade on their own account, were, by a decree of the States General of the first of July 1606, expressly prohibited from navigating by the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan; and in the following September by another decree, the subjects of the Netherlands were prohibited from carrying on the trade from foreign countries. Thus the monopoly seemed to be firmly established and the profits of the company to be commensurate with the most visionary hopes of its mem-

¹ Register der Resolutien van de Seventiene.

bers. But great success is quite sure to produce dangerous rivals in all affairs of this kind, and while it excites the envy perhaps and taxes the ingenuity of those whom the law has excluded from a participation in its advantages also frequently gives birth in foreign countries to efforts which the law cannot reach.

§ III.

ANOTHER POWER, IN QUEST OF THE RICHES OF THE INDIES, DISTURBS HUDSON'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE COMPANY, WHICH FAIL, ARE RENEWED AND FINALLY CONSUMMATED, IN CONSEQUENCE.

Great events are rarely the result of a single cause, but rather of a combination of causes and of accidental circumstances. So was it in regard to the voyage of Hudson, and we are now to allude to a singular train of incidents, which led to his immediate employment by the Company and without which we should have been ignorant of the particular circumstances connected with the negotiations between them. The success attending the first operations of the Company had attracted the attention of Henry IV of France, who, in consequence, became desirous of establishing a similar association in his own kingdom. Hitherto the expeditions to Canada of which that monarch had been a promoter, had been productive only of disappointment to himself and loss of life to the adventurers, and he seemed now anxious to try his fortunes in the East, by means of the services of experienced persons from Holland. Le Maire was recommended to him as a merchant both of great experience in the India trade, and of wealth and credit, who would probably assist him in the enterprise. The King determined to employ him if possible, and for that purpose, confided the execution of his plan to M. Jeannin, one of his ambas-

sadors at the Hague, whom he had sent there to aid in the counsels of the States-General in their pending negotiations for a peace with Spain. The envoy immediately made overtures on the subject to Le Maire, who was, on his part, quite willing to enter into the schemes of Henry. Le Maire was of opinion, however, that it was better to wait the issue of the pending negotiations for a peace, before organising the French Company, in as much as those negotiations might result in the adoption of an article in the treaty, prohibiting altogether the India trade to the Dutch, in which case it would be very easy to establish a new Company in France from among the members of the then broken-up Dutch Company. Jeannin appears to have acquiesced in the delay, although he did not altogether approve of the policy of it, because it might subject the course of his sovereign to the imputation of selfish motives in urging the peace, if such a provision should be inserted in the treaty.¹ While these parties were thus waiting the conclusion of the negotiations between the governments, — a momentous period in the history of the country, — and while the East India Company was quietly realizing as we have seen its enormous profits from the new trade, the result of Hudson's ~~second~~ voyage became known, in which he had reached the eighty first degree of North latitude, being the highest point then yet attained by any navigator. The news at once disturbed the smooth course of the Directors, whose fears were now excited, lest the Northeast passage might indeed be accomplished by others, and with it might disappear the value of their franchise. In pursuance, therefore, of the line of policy which was laid down in their resolution of August 1603, of preventing such a

¹ NÉGOCIATIONS DU PRÉSIDENT JEANNIN. *Lettre de M. de Villeroy au Sieur Jeannin, du 16 Février 1608*; and *Lettre de M. Jeannin à M. de Villeroy du 14 Mars 1608*.

result if possible, they sent for Hudson, who repaired, as before stated to Amsterdam in the latter part of the year 1608, in order to consult with them in regard to the practicability of the Northern passage.¹ The observations which Hudson had made during his former voyages and which he now communicated were new, and presented an eighth wonder of the world. He explained his experience to be in favor of an open sea in the extreme North, because having been as high up as latitude eighty-one, the further North he had gone, the less cold he had found; and, instead of the land at the highest latitude which he had attained not being covered with grass and there not being any animals there except beasts of prey and such as live on flesh alone, he had observed there both herbage and different species of animals which live solely upon the productions of the land, thereby proving the existence of such productions and a consequent amelioration of the climate in those extreme regions. He remarked further that in order to reach this milder climate of the Arctic circle, instead of exploring the sea-shore in latitude seventy to seventy-four, as had been done in the previous voyages of the Dutch,

¹ NÉGOTIATIONS DU PRÉSIDENT JEANNIN. *Lettre au roi par M. Jeannin le 52 Janvier 1609, sur la recherche du passage du Nord.* M. Jeannin does not speak of Hudson by name, but calls him an English pilot. Were there not other proofs sufficient to establish the identity of this person with Hudson, the production, which we are now enabled to make of the written agreement between him and the Directors of the Company of Amsterdam must be conclusive upon that point. This instrument was signed, on the eighth of January 1608, a few days before the date of M. Jeannin's letter, in which he speaks of the negotiations, which had been broken off, having just before been renewed. M. Jeannin also says, that this English pilot had already made two voyages in search of the passage by the North, and had reached the height of eighty-one degrees North; whence we are at no loss to recognise Henry Hudson as the individual intended. The letters of M. Jeannin are full of interest on this subject. Mr. Berg is the only writer within our observation who makes any allusion to them in this connection. *De Gids*, New Series I. 540. It is to these despatches of M. Jeannin that we are largely indebted for our details in relation to the negotiations of Hudson with the Company.

and where they had been caught by the ice, which always makes most near the land, and prevented from proceeding further, it was necessary to push boldly into the open sea, where the greater depth of the water and the agitation of the waves hindered the formation of ice, and to keep therein until the eighty-third degree was reached, or even a point further North when the navigator turning Easterly must seek the desired passage through the Straits of Anian.¹ These observations of Hudson, so opposed to all previous experience in regard to the Northern regions and to the general belief were sustained on philosophical principles by Plancius. This cosmographer argued, that the sun shining on the pole during five months constantly, though its heat is feeble, produces in consequence of its uninterrupted continuance for that long period, a higher degree of temperature and imparts more permanent warmth to the earth, and so makes it more suitable for the habitation of man and beast, than it does in latitudes further South, where it rises and sets daily, and where the heat communicated by day is thrown off at night. There is therefore, he said, an intermediate line of latitude between the pole and equator, where the cold is greatest, and on either side of which, as well going towards the pole as the equator, the cold gradually diminishes. This point of extreme frigidity, he fixed at the sixty-sixth degree. In illustration of his views, he instanced

¹ This open sea at the North pole has hitherto only served to tantalise both the enterprising and the curious. Its existence, recently again confirmed by our lamented countryman, Dr. Kane, from a different point of exploration, has been repeatedly asserted by voyagers who have visited that region since Hudson. Four years only after him, in 1612, Thomas Marmaduke sailed from Hull in the ship Hopewell and reached the eighty second degree of North latitude; but the highest point was gained by James Bisbrown, who sailed from Liverpool in 1765 and attained the extraordinary latitude of 83° 40', where he found the sea still open to the North. *Dr. Hamel's England and Russia*, translated by J. S. Leigh, p. 367. Whatever future exploration may disclose on this subject, the idea of the open Polar Sea undoubtedly originated with Henry Hudson.

the case of a small fire kept a long time in one place having more power to warm than a large one which is frequently kindled and suffered to burn only a short time at each lighting.

The Amsterdam directors declared themselves satisfied in regard to the expediency of sending out an expedition, but said they were not prepared to do so during the coming season. They, therefore, requested Hudson to return to Amsterdam the next year and obtained from him a promise to that effect. The reason of this proposed delay is to be found in the fact that it was not competent for the Chamber of Amsterdam alone to bind the whole Company. The power of sending out ships was vested in the Council of Seventeen, which only met two or three times a year: and the next meeting of that body would not take place until the twenty-fifth of the following March and then would be held at Middelburg in Zeeland. Its determination upon the subject would therefore, even if favorable, have been too late to enable a vessel, to be equipped early enough to sail that year, especially as it was insisted it ought to leave in March, and that one cause of the failure of previous attempts was leaving it till summer before the navigators left, when they found themselves by the time they had reached the high latitudes, surprised by the formation of new ice and stopped, in consequence, from going further. The hesitation, however, of the Amsterdam directors to embark at once in the enterprise had well nigh changed the whole character of the voyage of Hudson, and it was only by an accident that the discovery of Hudson's river, did not enure to the glory of Henry the Great, and the newly discovered country become a New France, instead of a New Netherland. What would have been the destiny of the land, had such been the case, it is unnecessary here to contemplate, though the circumstances which we are to relate must give rise to curious speculations in inquisitive minds on that subject.

The conferences of Hudson and the Directors took place during the pause in the negotiations between the French ambassador and Le Maire. The presence of the distinguished seaman in Amsterdam and the object of his visit were known to the latter, who watched his proceedings closely, and who as soon as the directors dismissed him, held secret interviews with him for the purpose of engaging him in the service of the King of France for the same exploration. Hudson appears to have entertained the proposal and to have given Le Maire all the information, which he had imparted to the Directors on the subject of the climate in the North. Le Maire, immediately communicated the facts to Jeannin and proposed to him that King Henry should have the exploration made in his own name, offering "to furnish the vessel and the men unless His Majesty should wish to employ some persons of his own, with those of experience in former voyages whom he would furnish, and saying that in order to accomplish the undertaking not more than three or four thousand crowns would be necessary, which sum he desired to receive from His Majesty, because he did not as a private individual feel inclined to expend so much, and did not dare to communicate the matter to any body else, because the East India Company was fearful above all things of being forestalled in this design. He did not venture to speak to the Englishman except in secret. If the passage should be found it would greatly facilitate the formation of a Company." Jeannin conferred at the same time with Plancius, who happened to be then at the Hague, without however apprising him of the plans of his master and heard from his own lips the confirmatory views of the cosmographer. On the 25th of January 1609, he wrote a letter to the king detailing the information which he had received and venturing in very courtly style to recommend the scheme. "It is," said he, "for Your Majesty to command what is your pleasure for

me to do in the premises. It is true the success of this undertaking cannot be promised with certainty, but Le Maire has long been making inquiries as to what results could be expected from this enterprise, and he is regarded as a prudent and industrious man. Then, much will not be hazarded. When Ferdinand received the opinion of Christopher Columbus and caused three ships to be equipped for him in order to make a voyage to the West Indies, the enterprise seemed at that time more doubtful, and all the other Powers to whom that man had applied ridiculed it and declared it impossible; yet what great fruits has it produced! It is the opinion of Plancius and other geographers that there are other lands which have not yet been discovered and which God may be reserving for the glory and advantage of other princes, not willing to bestow all upon Spain alone. Even if nothing should come of it, it will always be a laudable thing, and the regret will not be great, since so little will be risked." The interviews between Le Maire and Hudson became known however to the Amsterdam Directors and as Le Maire had apprehended would be the result, in case of such a discovery, they immediately recalled Hudson, and entered into negotiations with him anew. The circumstances are told by Jeannin in a postscript which is remarkable for its proposing another expedition. "This letter being finished, "it reads," and on the point of being sent off by me to Your Majesty, Le Maire has written me again that some of the East India Company having been informed that the Englishman had interviews secretly with him, were apprehensive that he wished to employ him himself to discover this passage, and they have therefore renewed their negotiations with him to undertake the voyage the present year, the Directors of the Chamber of Amsterdam having written to that effect to the other Chambers of the same Company for their approval with the declaration that if it be refused,

they will undertake it themselves. Le Maire does not however cease to exhort Your Majesty to this enterprise, informing me that he has a pilot who has already made this same voyage, and is more experienced and capable than the Englishman."¹ The arguments of Hudson and Plancius had their effect upon the French Monarch as well as the Company. Upon the receipt of this letter, the King wrote to the Ambassador, that though he considered Le Maire's project very doubtful and uncertain, yet it was so honorable and might be so advantageous if it should succeed, he was well satisfied to make the trial and to engage in it in his own name, if Jeannin and Le Maire judged he ought to do so; and in order to carry the design into effect he sent him a draft for four thousand crowns.² But the money came too late to employ Hudson. Indeed the agreement between him and the Amsterdam Directors had been completed already some time before the writing of M. Jeannin's letter to the King. The plan of Le Maire was, however, carried into execution by the employment of another person in his stead. A vessel was equipped, on behalf of the King but not in his name, and sailed to the North on the fifth of May, about one month after the sailing of Hudson;³ but as no particular account of the voyage has been ever given to the public, it must have entirely failed, not only in the object of its search, but in adding anything to the sum of

¹ NÉG. DU PRÉS. JEANNIN. *Lettre du 25 Janvier, 1609* ut supra.

² IBID. *Lettre du roi du vingt-huitième Février. 1609.*

³ IBID. *Lettre de M. Jeannin à M. de Villeroy du huitième de Mai 1609.* The correspondence of Jeannin was first printed at Paris in 1656 in folio. Another edition appeared in 4 vols. 12mo. at Leyden in 1696; and a third was published at Paris in 1819 in 3 vols. 8vo. Two other editions have since been published, with corrections from the original manuscript in the Bibliothèque Imperiale. We have used that of M. Buchon in his "*Choix de Chroniques et Mémoires sur l'histoire de France*", Paris 1838, 8vo; but, as our references are to the dates of the letters where they may be found, and not to the pages of the book, no difficulty will be found in consulting any of these editions.

geographical knowledge. Before its return Jeannin had left the country.¹

The pilot whom Le Maire so highly commended, whoever he was and whatever his skill, was of a different spirit from Hudson, who was the very soul of the expedition under his command, and who had great resources within himself against the extraordinary obstacles which beset his course. Our navigator when he entered upon the voyage, felt that he had something more to do than to discharge merely the orders of his employers; he was to endeavour to accomplish the object they had in view by the exercise, in extraordinary contingencies, of an intelligent discretion, and not in any event to be content without extending the limits of known exploration. The results of these two attempts made at the same time, and with the same general object in view and under similar circumstances, illustrate

¹ The expense of the equipment of this vessel was fifteen thousand *livres* being five thousand more than had been remitted to Jeannin. Besides this amount the captain received a present of three hundred florins on the part of the King. Le Maire put a venture in the ship of ten thousand *livres* in merchandize and cash on his own account. Jeannin who had an interview with the Captain speaks of him as a man well acquainted with navigation and of great experience. The expedition sailed with a letter of credence from Prince Maurice and was not known to have been sent out on account of the King of France by any other persons in Holland than Jeannin, Le Maire and his brother and the Captain. An examination of the French Archives might disclose something of interest on the subject of this expedition.

It appears from the account of Northern Russia by Isaac Massa in the Hudson tract of 1612 that Le Maire sent out another expedition to the North in 1612, and solicited Massa to join it, who refused. The whole paragraph is interesting and we give it in his own words from the Latin edition of 1612 which is more full as to this point than the others. "As the most excessive cold prevails in the straits of Nova Zembla, it is not wonderful that in consequence of the narrowness of those straits, quantities of very strong and thick ice are accumulated and heaped up to sixty or at least fifty paces in height, as was measured in this very year by those who were sent on a voyage there by Isaac Le Maire in a small vessel, which he wished me to accompany, but without avail; for I know very well and can demonstrate that that route is not open and that all those who undertake it will be deceived unless they attempt it some other way."

most strikingly the difference between the mere pilot, performing a prescribed task, and the zealous discoverer, such as Hudson was, ardent for success. While the one seems to have turned his bark homeward when the icebergs loomed up before him, with nothing to report to his employers except an entire failure, the other, nothing daunted or discouraged, when he saw he could no longer pursue the route marked out for him, boldly steered into other and more remote regions, discovered a new and beautiful country and, at the same time, contributed something to the great cause in which he was engaged, by demonstrating that no passage to the Indies existed at that point.

§ IV.

THE CONTRACT BETWEEN HUDSON AND THE COMPANY; AND THE INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE VOYAGE.

Although the enterprise in which Hudson had now engaged was at the expense and for the advantage of the East India Company. it was nevertheless through his advice and encouragement that it was undertaken. It is not, therefore, surprising that he should have had some views of his own in regard to the voyage, distinct from those of the Directors and should have followed them when the occasion served. He, indeed, is charged with having violated the instructions which he received from them, in turning Westwardly when he found himself prevented by the ice from sailing to the North of Nova Zembla, and it must be confessed with some show of truth.¹ The object of the Directors in sending him

¹ "Hudson having run out to sea and laid his course along the North coast towards Nova Zembla, and having found the sea there on the 14th of May as full of ice as it was in the previous years, determined, contrary to his instructions to seek another route through Davis' Straits, whither he accordingly sailed." *MS. history of the East India Company by Mr. P. van Dam, in the Archives at the Hague.*

on the voyage, was, as sufficiently appears from the circumstances which preceded his employment, solely to discover the Northeast passage in order to secure the exclusive benefit to the company of that route. We are not left however to inference as to their intentions. The contract entered into between them and Hudson distinctly states that the destination of the vessel was to the North and thence around the North side of the island of Nova Zembla; and the instructions, after repeating this destination and to the straits of Anian, expressly prohibit Hudson from attempting any other route, and in case of failure in the direction laid down, direct him to return to Holland. These documents which have only recently come to light must, however, speak for themselves, and are of so interesting a character that we are happy of the opportunity of now making them known. The contract exists entire, the instructions in abstract only. The former in consequence of Hudson's ignorance of the Dutch language was executed on his part with the aid of Jodocus Hondius as interpreter. For the reasons stated by Jeannin it was made with the Chamber of Amsterdam only and is signed by two directors on its behalf. It is as follows:

" Contract with Henry Hudson.

" On this eighth of January in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and nine, the Directors of the East India Company of the Chamber of Amsterdam of the ten years reckoning of the one part, and Mr. Henry Hudson, Englishman, assisted by Jodocus Hondius, of the other part, have agreed in manner following, to wit: That the said Directors shall in the first place equip a small vessel or yacht of about thirty lasts ¹ burden, with which, well provided with men, provisions and other necessaries, the above named Hudson shall about the first of April, sail, in order to search

¹ Sixty tons.

for a passage by the North, around by the North side of Nova Zembla, and shall continue thus along that parallel until he shall be able to sail Southward to the latitude of sixty degrees. He shall obtain as much knowledge of the lands as can be done without any considerable loss of time, and if it is possible return immediately in order to make a faithful report and relation of his voyage to the Directors, and to deliver over his journals, log-books and charts, together with an account of everything whatsoever which shall happen to him during the voyage without keeping anything back; for which said voyage the Directors shall pay to the said Hudson, as well for his outfit for the said voyage, as for the support of his wife and children, the sum of eight hundred guilders;¹ and, in case (which God prevent) he do not come back or arrive hereabouts within a year, the Directors shall further pay to his wife two hundred guilders in cash; and thereupon they shall not be further liable to him or his heirs, unless he shall either afterwards or within the year arrive and have found the passage good and suitable for the Company to use; in which case the Directors wil reward the before named Hudson for his dangers, trouble and knowledge in their discretion, with which the before mentinod Hudson is content. And in case the Directors think proper to prosecute and continue the same voyage, it is stipulated and agreed with the before named Hudson, that he shall make his residence in this country with his wife and children, and shall enter into the employment of no one other than the Company, and this at the discretion of the Directors, who also promise to make him satisfied and content for such further service in all justice and equity. All without fraud or evil intent In witness of the truth, two contracts are made hereof of the same tenor and are subscribed by both parties and also by

¹ Three hundred and twenty dollars.

Jodocus Hondius, as interpreter and witness. Dated as above. (*signed*) DIRK VAN OS, J. POPPE, HENRY HUDSON, (*Lower down signed*) Jodocus Hondius, witness." ¹

Independently of its historical importance, this interesting paper forcibly arrests attention to some of its details. The modest means with which it was proposed to execute the design, — a single vessel of sixty tons, do not conform to the modern idea of exploring expeditions; but the expeditions sent out for the purposes of discovery in those days were all arranged on a small scale, though this one if not the smallest of them all was certainly much smaller than the greater portion of them. Considering the dangerous service upon which the vessel was to be employed, who will not say that Hudson was actuated by the most ardent zeal for the promotion of discovery and by the spirit of a true explorer which forgets all other personal considerations in the hope of success and its crowning glory? Neither did he seek reward for his toils and dangers in the pecuniary compensation which he was to be allowed either for the time or the future. The amount which was paid him for the voyage was insignificant, and for his future employment was left entirely undetermined. He no doubt had full confidence in the honor of his employers. But when we read that it

¹ Jodocus (that is, Joost or Justus) Hondius, who acted as the interpreter and friend of Hudson, on this occasion, was an eminent engraver of maps, who like Plancius was a Fleming by birth and had fled from his country during the revolutionary troubles. He first went to London, and established himself there in business, but afterwards removed to Amsterdam, which for many years both before that time and afterwards was a great centre of map-making; and where he died two years after the above document was signed. He was succeeded by his son Henry Hondius, who also became eminent in the map business.

The baptismal name of Hudson, both in the body of the instrument and in the signature, in the Dutch copy, is spelt in plain English, HENRY. The practice in America of giving it the Dutch etymology *Hendrik*, is therefore more honored in the breach than in the observance.

was in the contemplation of the parties that he might perish in the attempt in those distant and unexplored regions, as indeed he was after all destined to do, we see how great was his confidence in himself to have been content with the paltry pittance which was stipulated, in that event, to be paid to his wife and children. On the other hand, we have a confirmation of the statement of Jeannin of the determination of the Chamber of Amsterdam to carry out the enterprise at its own expense, if necessary, and of the circumstances which brought it to that resolution. We may, too, readily conclude from the signatures on behalf of the Company who were foremost to promote the enterprise. No doubt, in the then existing emergency, all of the directors felt desirous of preventing by all the means in their power the apparently ripe fruit from dropping into the hands of Le Maire, yet we cannot be mistaken in saying that Dirk van Os regarded it with peculiar interest. In entrusting the execution of a measure determined upon by them, deliberative bodies are not apt to select any others than those who are its friends and its advocates and who are impressed with a sense of its importance. Who would in the present case have urged this measure more strongly than he who had been one of the first adventurers in the North, and whose life had been devoted to grand and bold enterprises?

Although the contract was, from the urgency of the case, made by the Amsterdam directors upon their own responsibility, it appears to have received the sanction of the other chambers and to have been fully assumed by the whole Company, before the sailing of the expedition. Indeed it is not easy to conceive that there could have been any opposition on the part of the other chambers, as they stood pledged by the express policy of the Company to prevent the passage being discovered by others. Mr. Lambrechtsen states, however, that the enterprise did not meet with the

approbation of the Zeeland directors; but we have not been able to find in the proceedings of the Council of Seventeen or of the Chamber of Zeeland any evidence to support his statement. Still as a majority of the Council was sufficient to adopt the measure, the opposition by that Chamber would not have been of any avail, unsupported by all the others. The action of the Council of Seventeen was, as a body, distinctly in favor of the expedition, as we find, at its first meeting after the contract was made, a resolution adopted by it committing the preparation of the instructions for the vessel to the Chamber of Amsterdam; ¹ and at the following meeting held on the first of September, after Hudson had sailed, the directors of the Chamber of Amsterdam called upon to report the orders and instructions given to the vessel; when they accordingly delivered copies of the contract and instructions to each of the Chambers. It thus not only appears that the expedition was at the charge of the whole company, but that it sailed with written instructions. It is therefore desirable to know what were those instructions, in order to understand the particular views of the Company as to the destination of the vessel. They are not extant in full, but the portion of them relating to the question under consideration has been preserved by Mr. van Dam. We have just seen that copies of the contract and instructions accompanied each other; and as we are indebted to Mr. van Dam for a copy of the former we may fairly conclude that he had a copy of the instructions before him when he wrote and claimed to give their contents. These instructions are

¹ *Resolution van de Seventiene, March 25, 1609.* All the members of the Council were present at this meeting. Those from the Chamber of Amsterdam were Jan Jansz. Carel, Jan Poppe, Bernaerd Berwijns, Marcus de Vogelaer, Dirck van Os, Jan Harmanssen, Gerraerd Reynst and Elbert Symonz. Joncheyn. The minutes of the proceedings of the Chamber of Amsterdam contain a single reference only to Hudson. On the 19th of January that body directed a payment of one hundred and fifty guilders to him on account of his wages. The records of the Zeeland Chamber are entirely silent in regard to the voyage.

quoted by him in support of his censure of the conduct of Hudson in seeking the passage through the lands of America. He thus states the facts: "This Company in the year 1609 fitted out a yacht of about 30 lasts burthen and engaged a Mr. Henry Hudson, an Englishman, and a skilful pilot, as master thereof, with orders to search for the aforesaid passage by the North and Northeast above Nova Zembla, towards the lands or straits of Anian, and then to sail at least as far as the sixtieth degree of North latitude, when if the time permitted he was to return from the straits of Anian again to this country. And he was *further ordered* by his instructions, to think of discovering no other routes or passages, except the route around by the North and North-east above Nova Zembla; *with this additional provision*, that if it could not be accomplished at that time, another route would be the subject of consideration for another voyage." These instructions seem, particularly by the last clause, to have contemplated such a contingency of failure in the Northeast as actually happened, and to have left no course for the master to pursue except to return home. Yet we must not judge too hastily that such was the intention. There is another construction less harsh which may have been adopted by Hudson. It may be possible that the idea of the vessel being stopped at the outset by the ice before reaching Nova Zembla or entering upon the exploration at all, as was the fact, never occurred to the minds of the Directors, and such a difficulty was not the failure provided against by them. In that case, Hudson would certainly have had a discretionary power to employ the ship for the time, at least, for which the crew was engaged to the best advantage of the owners consistently with the purposes for which she was equipped; and the consent to that course of the crew, and particularly of the officers of the vessel, who were all consulted on the subject

by Hudson, shows that they at least so thought. A still stronger circumstance in Hudson's favor is, that no such charge was made against him at the time in any account of the voyage, and especially in that of Van Meteren, in whose way particularly it would have come to speak of it, and who must have known it, if it were true. The authority of Mr. van Dam is unquestionably of the most reliable character for the facts which he gives; but his opinion is to be deferred to only so far as those facts warrant it, in regard to which every reader will exercise his own independent judgment; and therefore for ourselves, while we confess the instructions apparently sustain his position, we are nevertheless loth to conclude with him that the Directors were so blind to their own interests, as to have required the yacht to return ere she had entered upon the exploration and when the expenses had all been incurred; or, on the other hand, that Hudson would have deliberately disregarded their orders. But whatever may have been the views of the Directors, there can be not doubt as to those of Hudson. The state of the ice, as he found it, must have been anticipated as possible by him, if not by them, and he accordingly, as we will see, sailed, prepared for such an emergency. It may be urged that he should in that case have communicated such intentions to the Company. Even that he may have done; but if not, and if he thus showed an undue reserve, we may pardon something to the irrepressible spirit and daring intrepidity of the man, and the noble end which was the great object of his ambition.

We proceed, in the final pursuit of our inquiry, to the unfolding of these purposes of Hudson; and to show how and why he came to make the discovery of our river in a voyage distinctly undertaken for exploration in an opposite direction. A distinguished writer on Arctic Voyages has expressed himself as unable to understand what business the

navigator had on the shores of America. The mystery, if such it has been, need no longer exist.

§ V.

HUDSON, BEFORE LEAVING HOLLAND, CONTEMPLATES EXPLORING THE COAST OF AMERICA IN LATITUDE FORTY AND IN DAVIS' STRAITS.

The ulterior plans of Hudson are not to be gathered from the records of the Company. An explanation of the course which he deemed proper to pursue, in the actual circumstances which befel him, whether opposed to the wishes of his employers or not, might be found perhaps in his own journal of the voyage, or in his communications to the Company, after his return, if they existed; but diligent search assures us that these papers are irrecoverably lost.¹ Resort, therefore, must be had to other sources of information, if any such there be. Fortunately, at least, for his fame as a discoverer, if not for his exculpation from the charge of a disregard of the wishes of the Company, there does exist the means of showing the motives which influenced his conduct; and that it was not by accident he came to Hudson's river, any more than the discovery of the West Indies, by Columbus, when he sought the East Indies is to be so considered. It was, on the contrary, in pursuance of strong convictions in his own mind of the existence of an opening in the lands of America to the North of Virginia, connecting with what we know now to be the great lakes, and of an intention to prove or disprove that belief, that he was led to turn the prow of his little shallop, fearlessly

¹ The journal of Hudson was in the possession of De Laet when he wrote his Description of the New World, and may have been retained by him, but we have not been able to discover that there is any representative of his family living at this time in this country.

across the Atlantic. On the 6th of April 1609,¹ he sailed out of the Helder in the yacht *Halve Maan*, HALF MOON, after four months residence in Holland, leaving behind him some who felt interested in his success, and doubtless, also in his personal welfare, but whom he was destined never again to see. He was to have returned to give an account of his voyage and to deliver the vessel up to the owners, but it was his misfortune to have a mutinous crew, who compelled him to stop in an English port on his return, where an Order in Council directed him to remain and do service for his own country. Certainly no stronger evidence could be produced to show the high estimation in which his qualifications were held, than the adoption of such an extraordinary measure by the British government; but the exercise of this high prerogative, while, perhaps it gave Hudson up to a terrible end, terminated also his connection with the Dutch East India Company, and prevented him from again seeing the friends whom he had left behind him in Amsterdam. He was not however forgotten by them. When at the end of three years, the news at once joyful and sad, came to them that he had in another voyage discovered the long sought-for passage, through an opening in Davis' Straits and that he had been there abandoned by an unprincipled crew, Hessel Gerritsz. of Amsterdam, published, with their assistance, a brief account in the Dutch language of the new discovery in a publication entitled: "Description of the land of the Samoieds in Tartary. With an account of the search and discovery of the new passage or strait in the Northwest to the kingdoms of China and Cathay, etc." This tract enables us to fix the time when Hudson conceived the plan of crossing to America. Van Meteren informs us that Hudson, when he could not penetrate the ice in the North, submitted two distinct propositions to his crew as to their further operations, one

¹ New Style. See APPENDIX, Note A.

of which was to steer for the coast of America in latitude forty and the other to go to Davis' Straits, the latter of which they chose. For aught that appears in the account given by the historian, this determination of Hudson might have been formed upon the spur of the moment; but we find in the publication at Amsterdam just mentioned evidence both that Hudson, before he entered upon the voyage, intended to make the search in those directions, and the reasons for this determination. The statement of Van Meteren was derived from the first officer or mate of the *Halve Maan*, as we suppose, for reasons which we will give presently, and is, on other accounts, entitled to entire confidence.¹ Now, the little book published at Amsterdam contains a map of Hudson's recent discovery, of which an account is printed on the back of the map, where the writer says: "Mr. Hudson who has several times sought a passage to the Westward, had the idea of coming to an outlet sea through Lumley's Inlet from Davis' Straits, *as we have seen on his map in Mr. Plancius' possession*, and thus to run into the South Sea on the West side of New England,"² where an Englishman, as *he* had marked out, had been; but after making several trials, he found the passage which is designated upon *this map*,³ and which he would

¹ See APPENDIX, Note B.

² NOVA ALBION, — NEW ENGLAND. It is said by Mr. Rich that the first mention in print of the name of New England, as applied to this part of America, was in *Capt. Smith's*: "Description of New England," published in 1616. We have here the name applied to it in a Dutch book printed four years before that date, in connection with information derived from the originator of the name, at least three years earlier still. The circumstance is not only an interesting one in the history of that part of our country, but has an obvious bearing in favor of the accuracy of the whole statement with which it is given.

³ That is, the map here given upon which this account is printed. As the passage above cited is not in the Latin edition of 1613 which, though amplified in other particulars, omits mention of the map of Captain Smith, we give it here in the original: "Mr. Hudson die ettelijke malen Westwaerts een doorgangh ghesocht heeft, had zijn ooghmerck om door Lumleys inlet in Fretum

have pursued, had the sailors not been unwilling etc." This is an explicit declaration that the attempts by Hudson in his previous voyage to pass through the lands of America was in pursuance of a belief that there might be an opening there, and Plancius is not only given as the authority for it, but as having in his possession the evidence of it, derived from Hudson himself. Thus the time when Hudson conceived the plan is fixed. We are carried back to the period when he was in Holland, to those conferences which took place between him and the cosmographer when the subject of common interest to them, the routes by which the discovery of the passage was to be essayed, was discussed, and when for their mutual information, the experience of the one was compared with the facts which had been collected by the other. No other opportunity of their meeting, at which this map could have been given to Plancius, had afterwards occurred. It is then virtually Plancius himself who here tells us that when Hudson left on his voyage for the East India Company, he had the intention of seeking the passage in the West by the route delineated on that map.

The idea thus entertained by Hudson was based upon information derived from Captain John Smith and the journals of Captain Weymouth, who had, one or other of them, visited the regions indicated by Hudson to his crew and who had held out encouragement that the passage was there to be found. Captain Smith had explored the Chesapeake and run up its confluent, where he had doubtless heard from the natives of the existence of the great inland

Davis in een doorgaende zee te comen, ghelick wy sulcx in zijn Caerte by Mr. Plantius gesien hebben, ende by westen Nova Albion in Mar del Zur te loopen door een Enghels-man, soo hy gheteeckent had, door ghepasseert was. Maer na veel moeytens heeft hy dese wech, die hier op dees Caerte gheteeckent staet, gevonden, die hy vervolcht sonde hebben, hadde 't ghemeen Scheepsvolk niet soo onwillich gheweest."

seas which debouch through the St. Lawrence. He is the Englishman referred to in the account of Plancius above given, as we learn from Van Meteren; and we thus see how the two accounts, proceeding from different and independent sources, remarkably explain and confirm each other. Speaking of the plans of Hudson, when he encountered the ice, Van Meteren says: " Master Hudson gave them (the crew) their choice between two things, the first was to go to the coast of America at the fortieth degree of latitude, mostly incited to this by letters and maps which a certain Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia, and on which he showed him a sea by which he might circumnavigate their Southern Colony from the North and from thence pass into a Western sea: the other proposition was, to seek the passage by Davis' Straits." Captain Smith's map, had indeed been already published with his account of the Colony of Virginia, before Hudson visited Holland;¹ but it is evident both from the account of Van Meteren, who says that letters and maps were sent by Smith to Hudson, and that a Western sea was marked on the map, and from Hudson's map in Plancius' possession, also showing this sea, that Hudson relied upon something more than the public statements of the renowned Captain, and was probably in actual correspondence with him: but the communications of Captain Smith related, it will be observed, to the existence of a Western sea behind the English colony, and to a Northerly opening to it from the Atlantic. Hudson however was led to think that the strait might be found as far South as latitude forty, though his main dependence was upon a more Northerly point and in fact

¹ Smith's book was published in London, 1608, in small 4to, and bears the following title, " A true relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia, since the first planting of that Collony " etc. His map of Virginia, containing his discoveries in the Chesapeake, appeared first in this volume.

at or near the straits which he afterwards discovered and which bear his name.

We will now see both how he came to form this opinion and a more distinct indication of his purposes. The little book of Hessel Gerritsz. afterwards assumed a new garb. It had evidently attracted public attention, especially that part of it relating to Hudson's last discovery. It was enlarged and translated into Latin, and with still further enlargements and corrections passed into a second Latin edition, under the supervision of Gerritsz. himself, besides being translated into German, and published in other countries. In the form which it finally assumed we have further evidence, besides that contained in the extract above given from the Dutch edition, that the facts in regard to Hudson's voyage for the East India Company came from Plancius himself; but for these bibliographical details we refer the reader to the appendix.¹ The account as finally corrected says Hudson was of opinion that the route which one Captain George Weymouth had taken would lead to the Western sea spoken of by the Englishman. Now Weymouth had made two voyages to America, one in 1602, and the other in 1605, in one if not both of which, he had been at the entrance of Hudson's Straits, and in the latter had been on the coast of America as far South as latitude $41^{\circ} 30'$ North. There were therefore two important points which he had touched but left undecided, and which no other voyagers had explored, where possibly the opening to the sea, spoken of by Smith might be reached, one through Hudson's Straits, and the other in about latitude forty. Gosnold, who was on the coast of America in 1602, had, like Weymouth, gone South only to about $41^{\circ} 30'$; and the navigators to the Southern Colony of Virginia had, on the other hand, not sailed farther

¹ See Note C.

North than latitude thirty eight or thereabouts, leaving two hundred miles of the intermediate coast unexplored. Therefore it was that Hudson fixed upon the fortieth degree as one point of exploration, and afterwards, in carrying his purpose into effect, sailed down as far as the Chesapeake, and from thence began his examination Northwardly and so fell into the Hudson river. The reason, too, why he presented the two propositions to his crew is made manifest. It was evidently immaterial to him to which of the two points they sailed in the first instance, as, in case of failure in one direction, they could proceed to the other without much loss of time; while apparently it showed confidence in the crew on his part, and calmed the dissatisfaction which they had manifested, by leaving the route to them.

Plancius appears to have put Hudson in possession of what Weymouth had done, having obtained the journals of both of the voyages of the latter and delivered them to Hudson *at his request*. It is in this fact, of *seeking* the use of the journals of Weymouth when he was on the point of leaving on his voyage, that the purposes of Hudson are clearly signified, when taken in connection with what he actually did do. The whole of that part of the Amsterdam tract relating to Hudson's discoveries may now be introduced to the reader, who will find also in the portion of it not immediately relevant to our subject, matter of interest in regard to the navigator. It is from the Latin edition of 1613, and is as follows:

" Description and geographical delineation of the discovery of the strait or passage to China and Japan, above the land of America.

" The very fortunate voyages of the English, and the great success which has attended them, have added more

and more stimulus to that people to undertake new projects of discovery; and although they have been most laboriously engaged in the East, along the shores of Muscovy, Nova Zembla and Greenland, they have, nevertheless, employed themselves in the West (Virginia being now occupied and settled by their colonies), in order to discover a passage between Greenland and New-France. Having entered a passage towards the North obstructed by snow and ice, they attained the latitude of seventy or eighty degrees. This strait was named after the first discoverer John Davis. The last one who attempted the same route was Captain George Weymouth, who in the year 1602, sailed in it fifty leagues, when like others before him he was compelled by the great quantity of ice to return home. But not disheartened, he sailed *a second time*, and endeavored in latitude sixty-one, to penetrate the bay, which the English call Lumles Inlet, where, after he had gone a hundred leagues West, he turned to the South and finding no passage by reason of the closing of the land, was compelled in consequence of the imbecility of his crew and other causes to return. He, nevertheless, explored two other bays, between that land and what they call Baccalaos, having the greatest extent of water, like as of a sea, and the greatest rise and fall of the tide. Although this voyage did not at that time answer expectations, yet the journals of George Weymouth which fell into the hands of Domine P. Plancius, a most curious investigator of new matters useful to our country and nautical science, were of the greatest service to H. Hudson, in his exploration of this famous strait, *for in the year 1609, when he was negotiating with the Directors of the India Company about exploring a passage to China and Cathay above Nova Zembla, he begged these journals from D. P. Plancius; and from them he inferred that the route of George Weymouth, through the straits above Vir-*

ginia would lead to the ocean which bounds that country. Hence the opinion prevailed that by that way there was a passage open to the Indies, though it was fallacious, as Domine P. Plancius assured him upon the relation of a person who had explored the Western part of that same country and declared that it was a continuous land. Hudson *notwithstanding this*, finding his course to the East and Nova Zembla blocked by ice and snow, sailed Westwardly, in order that he might see if there were any hope remaining, *not in a direct course*, as is said, in order that he might get some profit for our country and the Directors. Exchanging his merchandize in New France for skins, he returned safely to England, where he was accused of having undertaken the voyage to the detriment of his own country. He again embarked with *no less determination to explore the Western route*, and arriving in Davis' Straits in the year 1610, in latitude sixty-one, entered the passage of George Weymouth, explored all the coasts delineated in the accompanying map, as far as latitude sixty three, and then steered Southerly to latitude fifty four, where he wintered. Leaving here he coasted along the Western shore as far as latitude sixty, sailing in a straight course four hundred leagues, where he discovered a large open sea with heavy waves from the Northwest. From these circumstances Hudson had no little encouragement of effecting the passage; nor was the consent of his ship's officers wanting, though the unwillingness and bad-feeling of his crew presented objections, arising from the want of provisions, of which only an eight month's supply had been provided, while nothing fit to eat had fallen into their hands, during the whole voyage, except that an Indian, armed with a Mexican or Japan dagger, brought them one animal. Hudson conjectured from this that the man had come from a great distance, from the Mexicans whose arms and articles of traffic he had

seen. The malevolence of the crew at length prevailed and they exposed Hudson and the other officers in a boat on the sea, and themselves sought their own country, where, when they arrived, they were thrown into prison and there detained for their foul crime, until Hudson, their Captain, should be restored safe, by those persons to whom that matter was entrusted last year, 1612, by order of the Prince of Wales of pious memory and the Directors of the Russian navigation. Hitherto nothing has been heard of their return; hence some hope exists that they have passed through those Straits, and therefore we can know nothing certain concerning our abandoned ones, until they shall have returned to England, either by way of the East Indies, or after having transacted their business with the Chinese and Japanese, by the same way; for which happy and auspicious event we fervently pray.

“Nor is that zeal subsided among our citizens of Amsterdam, who some months ago despatched a ship with the view of searching for the passage or Straits of Hudson, and of ascertaining whether there was any place for commerce in those countries; and, if the result should not be favorable, of trading upon the coast of New-France.”

The material part of this account as regards the plans of Hudson is that portion if it which may be called the inducement to the discovery of the new passage, namely, his previous attempt in the same direction. The object of the writer is to show when and how the idea originated with Hudson. The time is stated to have been when he was on his visit to Holland and the way he came to conceive it was by examining the journals of Weymouth; but what concerns the point relative to Hudson's credit as a discoverer is, in the first place, the remark to which we have

already alluded, that he *asked to have the journals of Weymouth* from Plancius. What was his motive in this demand? In the absence of any thing positive to guide us we might suggest half a dozen reasons; but, with the knowledge that he had Smith's map, and that when he came to sail and meet with obstacles in the North he had two routes matured in his mind which could have been only the result of study of Weymouth's previous explorations, there is only one reply, that it was for the purpose of making use of them on his pending voyage. In the second place, moreover and more directly to the point, Plancius, for it is he who speaks, does not leave us to infer his meaning in this regard. When he mentions that Hudson was going upon his last voyage he says, he "*again* embarked with *no less determination* to explore the Western route," than he had done on the previous voyage. He thus avers distinctly, though not directly, that Hudson had such determination when he started upon the expedition for the East India Company. In this remark, Plancius, whether wittingly or unwittingly, performed an act of true friendship for the navigator, as it relieves Hudson from the charge of being a mere rover, without any intelligent or definite purpose; and in giving the journals of Weymouth to Hudson, he evidently understood that they were to be employed on the voyage.

The indebtedness of Hudson to Weymouth appears to have been understood by some of the old navigators, as we find Capt. Luke Foxe alluding to it in his North West Fox, where he says of Weymouth and his voyage in 1602; "*Hee* neyther discovered nor named any thing more than Davis, nor had any sight of Greenland, nor was so farre North: nor can I conceive that he hath added anything more to this designe; yet these two Davis and *he* did, I

conceive, light Hudson into his straits." ¹ An account of Weymouth's first voyage was not published until seventeen years after the visit of Hudson to Holland, when it appeared in Purchas. It is therefore to the zeal and activity of Plancius that we may ascribe the direction of Hudson's mind on this occasion, though they differed in opinion upon the subject. But in this, as in all the acts of his life known to us, Hudson evinced that reliance upon his own judgment which crowned his efforts with measurable success.

With this exposition of the causes and motives which led him to the discovery of the Hudson river we leave this resolute seaman. It is no part of our purpose to follow him on the voyage, the details of which will be found well told in the pages of O'Callaghan and Brodhead. We have, however, given Van Meteren's brief account in the appendix in illustration of some points in our enquiry. But the events, which happened in our early history, after the voyage of Hudson, admit of elucidation from materials in part only to be found here in Holland; we mean the voyages which succeeded him to New Netherland and the circumstances preceding and attending the settlement of the country under the auspices of the West India Company which for half a century afterwards controlled its destinies; and these will make the subject of a separate chapter, hereafter.

¹ We take this quotation from "*Narratives of voyages towards the Northwest*," By Thomas Rundall Esq., one of the works issued by the Hakluyt Society, p. 69. The work of Foxe is not at our command here.

APPENDIX.

A.

A WORD FOR THE HALVE MAEN.

Doubts have been thrown around the name of Hudson's vessel. It is a point of inferior importance, it is true, how the little yacht which first sailed up the River of the Mountains was called; yet the name of the ship, as well as the commander, has, in all great enterprises, been considered a legitimate part of the story from the time the Argo conveyed Jason in search of the Golden Fleece until the Niagara and Agamemnon struggled in friendly contest to bind together the Old and the New World. For the sake of literature, at least, we should place the name of our yacht beyond the cavils of any further doubters. Mr. Lambrechtsen first noticed the fact that the vessel is called the Good Hope in the Register of the Resolutions of the Council of Seventeen; but the authors of "*A treatise, on the discoveries of the Dutch, by R. G. Bennet and J. van Wijk,*" a prize essay of the Provincial Society of Utrecht, tell us that "Hudson was sent out with the ship Half Moon, *otherwise called* the Good Hope." It is indeed rather a remarkable circumstance, that in the only instance in which the vessel is named in the resolutions of the Council of Seventeen, she is called the Good Hope. This occurs in the minute, before referred to, of the action of that body, in September 1609, in relation to the instructions, at the very time when the vessel was about entering the Hudson river. The proceedings of the Council on that occasion are thus entered: "The deputies from the Chamber of Amsterdam, will be pleased to bring with them the orders

and instructions which were given to the yacht the *Goede Hope*, sailed to the Weygadts." In the margin is the following: "The deputies of the Chamber of Amsterdam have produced at the assembly of the Seventeen the contents of this point. A copy is given, thereupon, to the respective Chambers, both of the instructions and of the contract made with Mr. Henry Hudson, the pilot." This is, however, clearly an error in regard to the name. There were two yachts belonging to the Chamber of Amsterdam, at that time, called respectively the Half Moon and Good Hope, of forty tons burthen each. The former sailed to the North under Hudson; the latter to the East Indies, where she was taken by the Spaniards on the 15th of July 1610. The writer of the minutes of the council evidently confounded the two names, for there are two other records in the archives of the Company where the name is the subject of the entry and where the name of the Halve Maen is given as Hudson's vessel. One of these is a book called the "Sailing book (*Uitloop boekje*) of the ships, from 1603 to 1700 inclusive;" and the other, the "Memorandum-book" (*Memoriael*).¹ In the former, which is the one referred to by Mr. Brodhead in his history of New-York (pp. 24 and 43 notes) as the "Shipbook," the following entries occur, under the year 1608, in relation to vessels which had sailed, belonging to the Chamber of Amsterdam:

	Lasts.		
" Yacht Hope.	40	1608. 15 April.	1610. 15 July, taken by the Spaniards.
Yacht Halve Maen.	40	Sailed to the North.	Has returned."

¹ These two books with others relating to the crews of the vessels of the East India Company, mostly since the year 1700, are kept still at Amsterdam in the ware-house of the Old *West* India Company, for purposes connected with claims and inheritances.

Under the date "1611, 2 May under command of Commander Laurens Reael" are the following entries in the same book.

	Lasts.	
" Banda.	400	1615. March 6 Wrecked on the island of Mauritius.
Yacht Halve Maen.	40	Not heard from."

In the Memorandum-book corresponding entries occur, as follows.

" Ships sailed in the year 1608.

	Lasts burden.	
Yacht de Hope.	...	Schipper Pieter Heeres.
Yacht Halve Mane.	40	Schipper Heyndrick Hoitsen."

" Ships sent under Commander Laurens

Reael, 2d. May 1611, from Amsterdam.

Ship Banda.	400	Schipper Roe-loff Tysen.	1615. 6 March. Lost at Mauritius."
Yacht Halve Mane.	40	Schipper Melis Andries.	(No entry).

The yacht Half Moon was at the island of Sumatra from July 1616 till the end of that year, (*Begin ende Voortgangh der Oost Indische Compagnie, Voyage door Verhoeven. p. 129*), but her ultimate fate was never reported to the Company and is unknown.

Hudson's vessel it will be observed is every where in the records called a *yacht*. Van Meteren calls her a *Vlieboot*, Flyboat. The discrepancy may be reconciled by the circumstance that these two kinds of vessels resembled each other in the number of their masts, which were two; though in other respects they were materially different. The Vlieboat was a broad, flat-bottomed vessel intended to navigate the shoals at the Vlie. It is now out of use; but is des-

cribed as having had neither mizzenmast nor topmast. The yacht had no mizzenmast, but had a topmast and bowsprit. The masts were rigged with gaffs half way down, like a sloop, and with staysails. There was no boom to the mainsail, but stays stretched from the end of the gaff to either side of the hull. That the Halve Maan was a yacht and not a Vlieboat or Flyboat, is evident from Juet's journal where he constantly speaks of her topmast and topsail.

B.

THE ACCOUNT OF HUDSON'S VOYAGE BY THE DUTCH HISTORIAN, EMANUEL VAN METEREN.

The first account which appeared in print of Hudson's voyage for the East India Company was in 1611, in a supplementary volume of Emanuel Van Meteren's history of the Netherlands. Van Meteren was born at Antwerp in 1535, but was taken at fifteen years of age to London by his father to be brought up in mercantile pursuits. He was a relative of the celebrated geographer Ortelius, with whom he travelled over England and Ireland, and at whose suggestion he undertook the task of writing a history of the Netherlands. He continued to reside at London till his death on the 18th of April 1612, only four months after the completion and publication of his work. He was Consul of the Netherlands at London for the last thirty years of his life. His position, therefore, gave him especial opportunities to write correctly upon a voyage which in some measure was connected both with England and the Netherlands. The first part of his history was published surreptitiously in Latin and German in 1595 in Germany, whither he had sent it for the purpose of having some engravings for it prepared. He first published it himself in Holland, in Dutch, in 1599. Another edition with a continuation appeared in 1608; and the third in 1611, in 4to: which he declares on the title contains his last corrections and which, as we have said, was, in fact the last edition during his life time. It has, however, been often reprinted since, and has been translated into French and German and prin-

ted in those languages. It is considered a standard authority especially for his own time.

His account of Hudson's discovery of the great river appeared in his last edition, and within two years after the event. He wrote it in England and evidently with the journal before him of some person who had accompanied the expedition, for he mentions the particular days of the arrival of the vessel at different points, corresponding exactly with those given by Juet in his journal, which was not then yet published. It is not probable that it was one kept by any of the sailors, for some of the information which the author gives would not have been within the knowledge of the crew. Nor was it Hudson's, which, it may be reasonably inferred, was sent by him directly to his employers at the time when he was prohibited by the English government from returning to Holland to make a report of his voyage, inasmuch as we find it afterwards in De Laet's possession; and especially as he had stipulated in the contract to deliver it up to them. The journal, therefore, which Van Meteren used was probably that of the mate, who, as he alone informs us, was a Netherlander, and who, by reason of the official position of the historian in London, would be thrown in communication with him. This supposition is however more strongly founded upon the circumstance that the informant of Van Meteren was acquainted with the private views of Hudson, at various times during the voyage, and afterwards, — a knowledge not likely to have been possessed by any person except an officer of the vessel; and upon the fact that we are furnished in this account with the opinion of the *mate* in favor of wintering in Newfoundland, instead of proceeding home, and with the particular manner in which *they* proposed to continue the voyage.

Of the relation given by Van Meteren, it will be observed that it is very particular upon those points upon

which both the journal of Juet and the account of De Laet are entirely silent, namely, the plans and purposes of Hudson during the voyage. It is well known to our historians and is quoted by them. The original Dutch edition of 1611 of his history, in which the account first appeared, is entitled: "Belgische ofte Nederlantsche Oorlogen ende Geschiedenissen beginnende van 't jaer 1595 tot 1611, mede vervattende enighe gebueren handelinge. Beschreven door Emanuel Van Meteren. Bij hem voor de leste reyse oversie verbeteret ende vermeerdert na die copie gedruckt op Schotlant buyten Danswyck by Hermes van Loven. Voor den Autheur Anno 1611." 4to., black letter, folios 360, and table of contents. It recommences with the eighteenth book of the history, at the year 1595, where the first volume ended, and concludes with the thirtieth in the year 1610. It does not appear on the title where it was printed; but it is there stated to have been printed according to the copy printed at Scotland, outside Dantzick, — a *nom de guerre*. The place of publication was intentionally concealed. Van Meteren had given offence by his previous volume to some distinguished persons, and he himself in consequence had actually been brought before the States General, upon their complaint of his injustice towards them; and at the same time the copies remaining in the printer's hands were ordered to be seized. The second volume was, as a contemporaneous history, not likely to be more acceptable to some parties then still living than the former. He wrote, in fact, under a strong Protestant bias. This edition is said to have been printed at Dordrecht. (*Mr. S. de Wind's "Bibliotheek der Nederlandsche Geschiedschrijvers,"* p. 258.)

The relation of Hudson's voyage given by this writer has been reprinted in Dutch and translated into the French and English languages. It forms that part of the publications of Joost Hartgers, in 1650, and of Saeghman, in 1663,

which describes the voyage of 1609. From this reprint it appears to have been translated into French, and published in the first volume of the "*Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'établissement et aux progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales etc.*," 12mo, Amsterdam 1702. Its publication in English was made in "*A collection of Voyages, undertaken for the improvement of trade and navigation etc.*," 8vo. London 1703. This last mentioned volume is not only uncommon, but the translation appears to have been rendered from the French copy, and is not altogether correct. As one of the proofs in our investigation, we append a new one from the original and only Dutch edition of the author. The account occurs in the thirtieth book, folio 327, of the edition of 1611, and is as follows:

"We have said in the preceding book that the Directors of the East India Company in Holland had sent, in the month of March last past, in order to seek a passage to China by the North-West or North-East, a brave English pilot named Henry Hudson, with a Vlie-boat, and about eighteen or twenty men, part English and part Dutch, well provided.¹ This Henry Hudson sailed from Texel on the 6th of April 1609, and doubled the Cape of Norway on the 5th of May: he laid his course towards Nova Zembla, along the Northern coast, but found the sea as full of ice there, as he had found it the preceeding year, so that he was compelled to abandon all hope for that year; whereupon, owing to the cold which some who had been in the East Indies could not support, the English and Dutch fell into disputes among themselves. Whereupon the Master, Hudson, gave them their choice between two things, the first was, to go to the coast of America in the fortieth

¹ There is nothing to be found on the subject in the preceding book or elsewhere in the history.

degree of latitude, mostly incited to this by letters and maps which a certain Captain Smith had sent him from Virginia and on which he showed him a sea wherein he might circumnavigate their Southern Colony from the North, and from thence pass into a Western sea. If this had been true, (which experience up to the present time has shown to the contrary), it would have been very advantageous and a short route to sail to the Indies. The other proposition was, to search for the passage by Davis' Straits, to which at last they generally agreed; and on the fourteenth they set sail and, with favorable winds, arrived the last of May at the isle of Faro, where they stopped only twenty-four hours to take in fresh water. Leaving there they reached, on the eighteenth of July, the coast of New-France in latitude forty-four, where they were obliged to make a stay to replace their *fore-mast* which they had lost, and where they obtained and rigged one. They found this a good place for catching codfish, and also for carrying on a traffic for good skins and furs which they could obtain for mere trifles; but the sailors behaved very badly towards the people of the country, taking things by force, which was the cause of a strife between them. *The English*, thinking they would be overpowered and worsted, were afraid to enter further into the country; so they sailed from there on the twenty-sixth of July and continued at sea until the third of August, when they approached the land in latitude forty-two. From thence they sailed again until the twelfth of August, when they again approached the land at latitude thirty-seven and three quarters, and kept their course thence along it until they reached the latitude of forty degrees and three quarters, where they found a good entrance between two headlands. Here they entered on the twelfth of September and discovered as beautiful a river as could be found, very large and deep, with good anchorage on both shores. They

ascended it with their large vessel as high as latitude forty two degrees and forty minutes, and went still higher up with the ship's boat. At the entrance of the river they had found the natives brave and warlike; but inside, and up to the highest point of the river, they found them friendly and civil, having an abundance of skins and furs, such as martens and foxes, and many other commodities, birds, fruits and even white and blue grapes. They treated these people very civilly and brought away a little of what ever they found among them. After they had gone about fifty leagues up the river they returned on the fourth of October and again put to sea. More could have been accomplished there if there had been a good feeling among the sailors and had not the want of provisions prevented them.

At sea there was a consultation held at which there was a diversity of opinion. *The mate, who was a Dutchman, thought* that they ought to go and winter in Newfoundland, and seek for the Northwest passage through Davis' Straits. The master, Hudson, was opposed to this; *he feared his crew would mutiny*, because at times they had boldly menaced him, and also because they would be entirely overcome by the cold of winter and be, after all, obliged to return with many of the crew weak and sickly. No one, however spoke of returning home to Holland, *which gave cause of further suspicion to the master*. Consequently he proposed, that they should go and winter in Ireland, to which they all agreed, and at length arrived, November 7th., at Dartmouth in England. From this place they sent an account of their voyage to their masters in Holland, proposing to go in search of a passage to the North West if they were furnished with fifteen hundred guilders in money to buy provisions, in addition to their wages and what they had in the ship. He wished to have some six or seven of his crew changed, making the number up to twenty men etc., and to

sail from Dartmouth about the first of March in order to be at the North West by the end of that month and there pass the month of April and half of May in killing whales and other animals in the neighborhood of the isle of Panar; from there to go towards the North West and remain there till the middle of September, and afterwards to return, by the North East of Scotland, again to Holland. Thus was the voyage finished; but before the Directors could be informed of their arrival in England a long time elapsed by reason of contrary winds, when at last they sent orders for the ship and crew to return at once to Holland. And when this was about to be done, the Master, Henry Hudson, was ordered by the authorities there, not to depart, but remain and do service for his own country, which was also required of the other Englishmen in the ship. Many however, thought it very strange that *the Masters*, who had been sent out for the common benefit of all kinds of navigation, should not be permitted to return in order to render an account and make a report of their doings and affairs to their employers. This took place in January 1610. It was supposed that the English wished to send the same persons with some vessels to Virginia to explore further the before mentioned river."

C.

THE HUDSON TRACT OF 1612.

This tract first appeared in Dutch with the title of: *„Beschryvinghe van der Samoyeden landt in Tartarien. Nieulijcks onder 't ghebiedt der Moscoviten gebracht. Wt de Russche tale overgheset, Anno 1609. Met een verhael van de opsoeckingh ende ontdeckinge van de nieuwe deurgang ofte straet int Noordwesten na de Rycken van China ende Cathay. Ende een Memoriael, gepresenteert aan den Coningh van Spaengien, belanghende de ontdeckinge ende ghelegghentheydt van 't Land ghenaeamt Australia Incognita. t' Amsterdam by Hessel Gerritsz. Boeckvercooper, opt Water, inde Pascaert, Anno 1612.“*¹ It is a small 4to. of forty pages, containing three maps, one of the world, representing the different discoveries mentioned in the book; one, a nautical chart of Hudson's straits and the adjoining shores of Davis' Straits, and the third a chart of the Northeastern coasts of Russia and country of the Samoieds, as delineated and described by Isaac Massa. Upon each of the last named two maps there are printed two pages of description; and upon that of Hudson's straits, is the account, which we have referred to in the text. The contents of the book consist, in addition to what appears upon these maps, of

¹ „Description of the country of the Samoieds in Tartary, lately brought under the dominion of the Muscovites. Translated from the Russian in the year 1609. Together with an account of the search and discovery, of the new passage or strait, in the Northwest, to the kingdoms of China and Cathay. Also a memorial presented to the King of Spain, concerning the discovery situation of the country called Australia Incognita. Amsterdam by Hessel Gerritsz. Bookseller etc.“

a preface of six pages, giving a brief history of Northern discovery signed Hessel Gerritsz. of Assum; accounts of Siberia and Muscovy, twenty-two pages; and the memorial of De Quir to the King of Spain relative to the great Southern continent, nine pages. The entire relation of Hudson's discoveries, as given on the map, is brief and reads as follows:

"Account of the voyage and new-found strait of Mr. Hudson.

"Mr. Hudson, who has several times sought a passage Westward, had the idea of seeking an outlet sea through Lumley's Inlet in Davis' Straits, as we have seen in his maps in Mr. Plancius' possession, and to run into the South Sea, West of New England, where an Englishman, as he had marked out, had passed through. After much trouble he found the way which is designated upon this chart, which he would have followed out, had the common sailors not been unwilling; for as he had already been absent ten months, and victualed for only eight months, and had during the whole time seen only one man (who brought them a large animal which they eat, but who because he was ill-used did not come near them again) the common sailors, therefore, when they had come up again from latitude fifty-two, where they had wintered, to latitude sixty-three along the West side of the Bay into which they had sailed, and where they perceived an open sea and great waves from the Northwest, mutinied against their masters who wished to go further, put all the officers out of the ship into a boat or sloop, and sailed themselves with the ship to England. For this, when they came home, they were all thrown into prison; and this summer some ships have been sent out by order of the King and the Prince of Wales to search further for the passage, and for Mr. Hudson and his companions; which ships have orders, two of them, to pass through the

passage when it shall be found, and one of them to return home with the news, which we are expecting."

In addition to this account of Hudson's discoveries on the back of the chart there is about half a page of the preface devoted to them, in which it is distinctly averred that the Directors of the East India Company were induced to send out the expedition under Hudson in consequence of the recent attempts of the English to discover a route by the North. This must refer to Hudson's first two voyages for the English Company. The disjointed parts relating to Hudson in this tract, in connection with the fact that his name does not appear upon the title page, indicate that the map and memorandum accompanying it were contributed after the rest of the work was prepared for the press. The same observation is applicable to the map of Russia, which has a similar memorandum endorsed in regard to the travels of Isaac Massa. Both these endorsements are omitted from the maps in the other editions; but the contents of them are enlarged and made regularly a part of the text of the work. The chart of Hudson's-Bay was evidently drawn in England, as the names are in the English language, and it is embellished with the royal arms.

The second edition of this tract was published at Amsterdam in Latin, in the same year as the Dutch edition and is entitled: "*Descriptio ac delineatio Geographica Detectionis Freti sive, Transitus ad Occasum, supra terras Americanas, in Chinam atq; Japonum ducturi, recens investigati ab M. Henrico Hudsono Anglo. Item, Narratio Ser.^{mo} Regi Hispaniæ facta, super tractu, in quinta Orbis terrarum parte, cui Australiæ Incognitæ nomen est, recens detecto, par Capitaneum Petrum Fernandez de Quir. Unà cum descriptione terræ Samoiedarum et Tingoësiorum, in Tartaria ad Ortum Freti Waygats sitæ, nuperq; Imperio Moscovitarum subactæ.* AMSTERODAMI *Ex Officina Hesselij*

Gerardi. Anno 1612.” small 4to; forty-six pages, 3 maps, the same as in the Dutch edition. There is also a plate of a Samoied on a sledge, drawn by reindeer, with idols on an eminence in the distance. On the back of the title is a ship under full sail and some verses underneath.

The title it will be seen is changed and now commences by stating the work to be an account of Hudson’s discoveries, which makes the first article in the book. Hence it is called the Hudson tract, although what relates to Hudson forms only a small portion of its contents. This edition of the Hudson article was used in the reprint in De Bry (*Petits Voyages*, Part X. 1613), in the *Annalium Mercurio* etc. (Cologne, 1616) and in the German translation of Hulsius (Part XII. 1614). It is marred by several errors but is of value as a phase in the process of correction so far as regards Hudson’s voyages. The portion of it relating to the voyage for the East India Company we give at length, in illustration of such correction and the amplification which it underwent from the first edition in Dutch to that of 1613, printed in our text: “It (the Northwest passage) was attempted in 1602 by Captain George *Winwood*, who having sailed up and down Davis’ Straits for nearly fifty leagues, and having been compelled to return on account of the ice, endeavored to find the desired passage through the bay which the English call Lumles Inlet, in latitude sixty-one; but after having proceeded an hundred leagues towards Hypafricum, he retraced his course, both because the crew were worn out by the daily toil of the voyage and because he determined to explore two other bays between Lumles Inlet and the Baccalaos, where he had seen a large river, emptying itself, as is evident from his journal: which Mr. Peter Plancius, a most curious investigator of such novelties, *delivered* to Mr. Henry Hudson, an Englishman, who was then in Amsterdam, to wit in the year

1609, and about to sail on a voyage, having been engaged by the Directors of the East India Company to search for a passage above Nova Zembla. When he found he could accomplish nothing in the East, he turned his course *straight* to the West, in order to try the passage sought by Captain Winwood and described by him as terminating after passing through a strait of an hundred leagues, more or less, in a large sea, which sea our Hudson hoped to find, though Plancius showed the contrary, on the strength of a narrative of a person who had navigated the Western shore of the sea. Hudson not having accomplished anything worthy of note in this voyage was sent out again the following year, 1610, by his own countrymen, and following the route tracked out for him in part by George Winwood, entered at length after much trouble this strait and proceeded to latitude 50 and 51, where he wintered etc." It will be noted that Weymouth is here called Winwood; that Hudson's course is declared to have been a straight one, and that only one voyage of Weymouth is mentioned. All these points were changed in the edition of 1613. But the omissions are still more remarkable, and by referring to the translation from that edition in the text it will be seen what they are, namely: 1. that Weymouth made a *second* voyage (1605); 2. that Hudson *begged* from Plancius the journals of Weymouth; 3. that he went upon the coast of New France not to explore but for the purpose of making a profit for the Company, by the exchange of merchandize for furs; and 4. that he left on his last voyage, *no less determined*, to explore the Western route *than before*, which, as we have said, is an indication of his design when he sailed on the voyage of 1609 to explore the American coast.

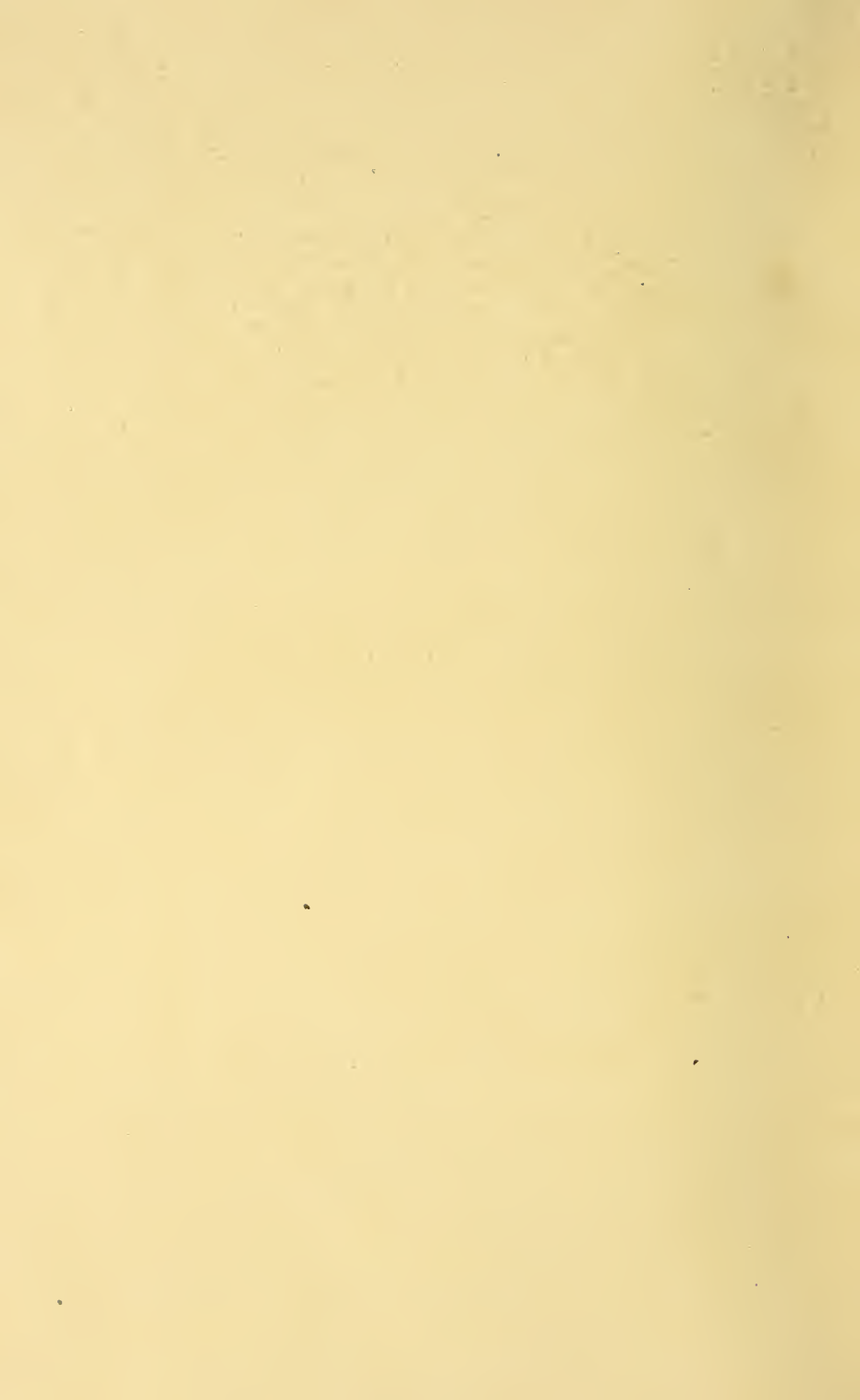
The third and last edition published by Gerritsz. was also in Latin and bears date 1613. The title is again slightly altered, in language, from the preceding edition, but not in

substance, as follows: "*Descriptio ac delineata Geographica Detectionis Freti sive, Transitus at Occasum, supra terras Americanas, in Chinam atq; Japonem ducturi recens investigati ab M. Henrico Hudsons Anglo. Item; Exægesis Regi Hispaniæ facta super tractu recens detecto in quinta Orbis parte, cui nomen Australis Incognita. Cum descriptione terrarum Samoiedarum & Tingoësiorum in Tartaria, ad ortum freti Waygarts sitarum, nuperq: sceptro Moscovitarum adscitarum.* AMSTERODAMI ex officina Hesselij Gerardi. Anno 1613;" small 4to, forty-four pages. Besides the maps and plates in the first Latin edition and some additional names on the plate of the map of Tartary, there is a fourth map, of the Arctic regions, and a supplemental leaf with a plate of a whale. An important circumstance relating to this impression is that it is entirely re-written. The article upon the discoveries of Hudson is corrected in the particulars which we have mentioned and is also much enlarged. The account of the Samoieds is an original one of Isaac Massa of Haerlem by whom it is signed. Massa had been in Russia and wrote a full account of that country, still existing in manuscript in the Royal Library at the Hague, and professing to give the history of that country down to the year 1609. We have already referred to him in our notice of Le Maire. He was afterwards repeatedly sent to Moscow as a diplomatic agent of the States General. Hamel, (p. 355), says that he "contributed essentially to the extension of the trade of the Dutch with Russia." This edition closes with an additional article not found in the other editions, of six pages, devoted to the voyage of Jan Cornelisz. in 1611.

Hessell Gerritsz., the publisher of these three editions, came, as he describes himself, from Assum, which is a little hamlet in North Holland. He was, like Hondius, a map engraver.

By comparing the different editions of this little book,

the account, as regards the purposes of Hudson, must have been, ultimately, the work of some person cognizant of the facts related. As it was published in the very city in which the transaction occurred, in relation to which we produce it, and within three or four years of the event, the conclusion appears irresistible that corrections would not have been made of a statement merely introductory, as this is, to the main object of the narrative, unless the facts were within the knowledge of the party, *and deemed important by him*; and these circumstances point almost conclusively to Plancius himself as the informant; but whatever doubt there might otherwise be upon this subject, it is all removed when these amendments are taken in connection with the statement of Gerritsz. in the Dutch edition, that he had seen in the possession of Plancius a map with Hudson's plan of exploration, marked out by himself, thus showing a direct communication between the author and the cosmographer, and the source of the author's information upon the subject of the voyage made for the East India Company.





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